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First Reactions to the "Explorer"

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INTRODUCTION

The launching of the first earth satellite by the Russians is now commonly accepted as an event of world-wide importance; one which has had considerable impact upon men's minds. With the advent of the American satellite in the heavens, the question was raised as to what possible counter-influence this launching may have had. Accordingly a survey of West German public opinion and reaction to the "Explorer" was instituted so as to parallel as closely as possible information which had been obtained earlier in relation to the Russian "Sputniks".

Interviewing occurred between February 5 and 10, 1958. In interpreting the figures, therefore, readers are reminded that the first responses were gathered less than a week after the successful launching of the American satellite.

The sample of 481 cases representative of the West German adult population over 18 years of age was gathered on a random probability basis by DIVO, Marktforschung - Meinungsforschung - Sozialforschung GmbH, Frankfurt an Main/Bad Godesberg, a German research organization working under contract with the Research Staff.

S U M M A R Y

Although interviewing began shortly after the event, an exceptionally high degree of awareness of the American satellite (as well as the Russian) was found.

In comparing the US and USSR, considerable gains were found for the Russians in the military as well as in the scientific arena. The USSR is now considered stronger than the US in the scientific field, and as strong in the military sphere. In looking forward into the future, however, larger percentages now see the US emerging as the stronger.

In applying these events to the German scene relatively few people seem to have drawn any conclusions. Among the minority which thinks West German armament plans should now be altered, more want it slowed down than want it speeded up. When asked how necessary it is to have the army equipped with conventional weapons, opinion is pretty well divided, so that less than a majority is found saying that conventional weapons are as necessary, or more so than before.

The proposal to build rocket launching sites in the Federal Republic draws opposition from two-thirds of the population. Such opposition is fairly uniform throughout all segments; only among the small minority which favors a speed up in West German armament, and among those who were refugees (or expellees) can a majority be found in favor of the construction of rocket bases.

Almost everyone is in favor of the holding of a new Summit Conference, although the expectations that something concrete will come out of such a meeting is not particularly high. In fact there is overwhelming support for a conference regardless of their expectations of what can be achieved there.

Part I - Awareness of the Satellites

KNOWLEDGE OF BOTH U.S. AND RUSSIAN SATELLITES VERY HIGH ...

The presence of the earth satellites sent up by the Russians and the U.S. is well known to almost everyone in West Germany. The degree to which the populace is aware of these events is extraordinarily high and represents a peak (of awareness) never before recorded.

Almost everyone (94%) knew that satellites had been successfully sent up. And while this fact has been previously reported in connection with the launching of the Russian "moons", the fantastic appeal of the subject can be further seen in the fact that the survey reveals that knowledge concerning the successful launching of the U.S.'s satellite is almost as high as that concerning the Russian (84% knew about the "Explorer", whereas 90% knew of the Russian "Sputniks").

Not only is the percentage knowing about the U.S. satellite high, in itself, but one must keep in mind that the survey was in the field only five days after the "Explorer" was in its orbit. Normally, one would have to allow a minimum of two weeks for "important events" to become general public knowledge.

"Do you know whether there is any country that has as yet succeeded in sending a satellite around the earth?"

West Germany

	Nov 57 (813)	Feb 58 (481)
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Yes	96%	94%
No	4	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Yes":

"And - as far as you know - which country has sent a satellite around the earth?"

Feb 58
(481)

USA	1%
Russia	7
Both countries	83
No opinion	3
	<u>94%</u>

NOTE: Following this first question on awareness, all respondents were informed of the existence of the Russian and American satellites.

PUBLIC OPINION DIVIDED AS TO WHETHER THE SATELLITES ARE ESSENTIALLY MILITARY IN PURPOSE OR OF SCIENTIFIC BENEFIT TO MANKIND ...

Inasmuch as past experience has shown a tendency to regard missiles and rockets as an extension of atomic weapons, which therefore, suffer from the public aversion to anything having to do with atomic energy, a special point was made to try to determine in what light the satellite developments were being regarded.

While as we have seen above, there is obviously keen interest in the events, when a direct question was put to them, the West Germans were divided in their evaluation of the main purpose of these new developments. Just as many called the earth satellites primarily military in purpose (35%) as thought that they were scientific achievements benefitting mankind (37%).

While a majority have expressed an opinion on the question, we should not lose sight of the fact that almost three out of ten (28%) are essentially uncommitted, because they either said that satellites served both purposes (16%), or did not answer the question (12%).

"Do you believe that the latest scientific developments - such as the earth satellite - are primarily military in purpose or are they mainly scientific achievements benefitting mankind?"

West Germany
(481)

Primarily military	35%
Scientific achievements - benefitting mankind	37
Both to the same extent	16
No opinion	12
	<u>100%</u>

Part II - Current Comparisons of the U.S. and U.S.S.R.

USSR NOW SEEN AS AHEAD OF THE U.S. IN SCIENCE ...

A previous survey carried out in November 1957, after both Russian satellites had been launched, showed that opinion was divided as to whether the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. was ahead in the field of science.

At the present time there is a definite plurality holding that the U.S.S.R. rather than the U.S. is superior in the field of scientific developments - 48 per cent chose the U.S.S.R., as against but 29 per cent picking the U.S.

Only the repeat of this question at some future time can show, however, whether this opinion has as yet been influenced by the arrival of the "Explorer" on the scene. The present figures may represent the net influence of the Russian "Sputniks", without time for any counter-influence by the American satellite.

"All things considered, do you think the U.S. or Russia is ahead in scientific developments at the present time? Considerably ahead or only a little?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	
	Nov 57 (813)	Feb 58 (481)
U.S. considerably ahead of Russia	14%	36%
U.S. a little ahead	22	19
Russia a little ahead of U.S.	27	34
Russia considerably ahead	5	14
Both equal (volunteered)	15	9
No opinion	17	14
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

MORE SEE RUSSIA AHEAD IN MILITARY SPHERE - U.S. AND U.S.S.R. NOW ALMOST EVEN ...

The earlier tendency (November 1957) to see the U.S. as still ahead of the U.S.S.R. in the military arena, as well as in the scientific, one has also been altered during the intervening months.

While the percentage seeing the U.S. ahead of the U.S.S.R. in military strength has remained about the same (37% now as against 38% before), the percentage selecting the Russians as the stronger has gone up (from 23% to 31% at the present time).

The gain for the Russians would appear to have come mainly from people who previously assessed the two powers as about equal in strength, since the percentage holding that opinion went down eight percentage points (from 20% to 12%) while the group selecting the Russians as the stronger went up by eight points.

"All things considered, do you think the U.S. or Russia is ahead in total military strength at the present time? Considerably ahead or only a little?"

<u>West Germany</u>		
	Nov 57 (813)	Feb 58 (481)
U.S. considerably ahead of Russia	16%	38%
U.S. a little ahead	22	26 } 37%
Russia a little ahead of U.S.	17	23
Russia considerably ahead	6	12 } 31
Both equal (volunteered)	20	12
No opinion	19	20
	100%	100%

ONE OUT OF FIVE SEES RUSSIA AHEAD OF THE U.S. IN BOTH THE MILITARY AND SCIENTIFIC FIELDS, WHILE SMALLER NUMBERS PICK THE U.S. OVER THE SOVIETS IN BOTH AREAS ...

Cross-tabulating the replies to these two questions reveals some interesting relationships that should be taken into account when assessing West German evaluations of the relative strengths of the United States and the Soviet Union.

One person out of five (20%) selected the Soviets as superior to the U.S. in both the military as well as the scientific fields, while slightly less (17%) thought that the U.S. was superior to the Soviets in both respects. Hardly anyone called the two powers equal in both military and scientific strength (3%).

These completely "consistent" people amounted to but 40 per cent of the population, leaving the remaining 60 per cent either to fluctuate between choosing one over the other or to duck the issue (by saying both were equal or replying "no opinion").

"All things considered, do you think the U.S. or Russia is ahead in scientific developments at the present time? Considerably ahead or only a little?"

U.S. ahead of <u>Russia</u>	Russia ahead of U.S.	Both <u>equal</u>	No <u>opinion</u>
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"All things considered, do you think the U.S. or Russia is ahead in total military strength at the present time? Considerably ahead or only a little?"

U.S. ahead of Russia	17%	17%	2%	1%...37%
Russia ahead of U.S.	7	20	3	1 ...31%
Both equal	3	5	3	1 ...12%
No opinion	2 29%	6 48%	1 9%	11 14%...100% (481)

INCREASED CONFIDENCE THAT THE U.S. WILL EMERGE AS THE STRONGER
IN THE FUTURE ...

In contradiction to the trends noted - to select the U.S.S.R. as currently becoming stronger in the fields of scientific developments and military strength - there is a stronger tendency now to say that the U.S. rather than the U.S.S.R. will wind up as the stronger power in the future (43% selected the U.S. as against 31% doing so in November 1957).

The main difference in the answers to this question appears to lie in the fluctuations which occur between selection of the U.S. and replies of "both are equally strong". The percentage putting their money on the Soviets appears to be relatively stable (22% in 1956, 21% in 1957, and 25% now).

"If the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. settle down to competition without war for the next twenty ~~or~~ twenty-five years, which of the two, do you think will end up as the stronger?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		
	Apr 56 (963)	Nov 57 (813)	Feb 58 (481)
U.S.	37%	31%	43%
U.S.S.R.	22	21	25
Both equally strong (volunteered)	14	24	13
No opinion	27	24	19
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

PUBLIC ASSESSMENT OF PRESENT STRENGTHS NO SURE CLUE TO THEIR FUTURE EXPECTATIONS ... AMONG THOSE SEEING THE U.S.S.R. AHEAD OF THE U.S. IN EITHER SCIENTIFIC OR MILITARY SPHERES OPINION EVENLY DIVIDED AS TO WHICH WILL BE THE STRONGER IN THE FUTURE ...

The following cross-tabulations (of present military strength, and state of scientific developments against which country will emerge as the stronger in twenty or more years) show that it would not be safe to rely upon assessments of the present state of balance between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. as a clue to what the West Germans think will be the situation in twenty or more years from now.

A majority of those who say the U.S. is now stronger in the scientific field (57%) also pick the U.S. as the eventual winner. Similar results are obtained when cross-tabulating present military strength and future expectations. A majority (59%) of those saying the U.S. is the stronger militarily also say that they expect the U.S. to be stronger in twenty years. While majorities do consistently support the U.S., the fact must not be lost sight of that roughly one-third of those who saw the U.S. as currently stronger did not see the U.S. as maintaining that lead (i.e. they either selected the U.S.S.R. as stronger in the future, or said that both would be equally strong).

It is among those who picked the U.S.S.R. as the stronger (in either field) that the most significant changes occur. For both cross-tabulations, even though they had said that the U.S.S.R. was now stronger in one or the other respect, when it came to saying which would be the stronger in the future, they divided fairly evenly between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

"If the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. settle down to competition without war for the next twenty or twenty-five years, which of the two, do you think, will end up as the stronger?"

	U.S.	U.S.S.R.	Both equally strong	No opinion	No. of cases
"All things considered, do you think the U.S. or Russia is ahead in scientific developments at the present time?"					
U.S. ahead of Russia	57%	18%	13%	12%...100%	137
Russia ahead of U.S.	39	32	14	15	236
Both equal	47	19	19	15	41
No opinion	27	16	8	49	67

"All things considered, do you think the U.S. or Russia is ahead in total military strength at the present time?"

U.S. ahead of Russia	59%	20%	11%	10%...100%	178
Russia ahead of U.S.	37	40	12	11	146
Both equal	40	21	17	12	58
No opinion	24	13	12	51	99

Part III - The Consequences for West Germany

ONLY MINORITIES NOW THINK WEST GERMAN REARMAMENT PLANS SHOULD BE ALTERED (EITHER SPEEDED UP OR SLOWED DOWN) ...

When respondents were reminded of the latest developments with the various rockets and earth satellites and asked to say whether, as a consequence, the West German armament program should be speeded up, slowed down, or carried on as before, relatively few wanted a change (whether up or down) to occur.

Within the minority who thought some kind of a change in plans was called for, there were twice as many who wanted it slowed down (25%) as wanted it speeded up (13%).

The majority, however, either merely replied that things should be carried on as before (30%), or had "no opinion" as to what should be done (32%).

"Considering the latest developments with middle-- and long-range rockets and earth satellites, are you of the opinion that our rearmament program should be speeded up, slowed down, or carried on as before?"

West Germany
(481)

Should be speeded up	13%
Should be slowed down	25
Should be carried on as before	30
No opinion	32
	100%

OPINION ON SPEED-UP OR SLOW-DOWN OF REARMAMENT UNAFFECTED BY OPINION OF PRIMARY PURPOSE OF EARTH SATELLITES ...

Significantly enough, the opinions which are held concerning the desirability of speeding up or slowing down the West German rearmament program, are unaffected by opinions which are held concerning the essential nature of the satellites (i.e. whether they are military or scientific in nature).

A cross-tabulation of the two questions shows quite clearly that there is absolutely no difference in replies when they are first divided according to what they think is the purpose of the satellites.

"Do you believe that the latest scientific developments - such as the earth satellite - are primary military in purpose or are they mainly scientific achievements benefitting mankind?"

	Scientific achievements	Both to the same	No extent	No opinion
Primarily benefitting military				
mankind	(166)	(178)	(77)	(60)

"Considering the latest developments with middle- and long-range rockets and earth satellites, are you of the opinion that our rearmament program should be speeded up, slowed down, or carried on as before?"

Should be speeded up	15%	15%	14%	3%
Should be slowed down	26	24	26	18
Should be carried on as before	35	36	22	10
No opinion	25	24	38	69
	100%	100%	100%	100%

THOSE WANTING ARMAMENT SPEEDED UP SEE INCREASED NEED FOR PROTECTION, WHILE THOSE WANTING IT CARRIED ON, OR SLOWED DOWN GIVE REASONS NOT RELATED TO SATELLITE DEVELOPMENTS...

The following examples of verbatim comments as to why people wanted the West German rearmament program speeded up, slowed down, or simply carried on as at present, reveal that it is only among those people who want the program speeded up that there is any concrete tie-up between these latest developments and German rearmament; for they see increased need for protection against Russia.

Most of the reasons advanced by those who wanted to slow things down or to maintain the current rate had to do with their more general attitudes towards the dangers of a new war, or their attitude towards the military.

"Considering the latest developments with middle- and long-range rockets and earth satellites, are you of the opinion that our rearmament program should be speeded up, slowed down, or carried on as before?"

IF "Should be speeded up":
"Why are you of this opinion?"

West Germany
(481)

It would build up our security:

7%

"We must speed up our rearmament program to protect ourselves against unexpected happenings."
"It is important to put more pressure behind our rearmament efforts for security reasons."
"A speed-up rearmament program would give our people better protection."
"If we ever let the Russians win the upper hand in military matters, we'll be lost."

We must catch up with other nations' lead in the military field:

4

"The Russians are ahead of other nations and will undoubtedly employ these scientific developments for military purposes. We must try to keep pace with them."
"Our rearmament program must be speeded up or we will fall hopelessly behind."
"We must become as powerful as the other nations."

It would discourage Russia from attacking us:

1

"Our army should be equipped more extensively with modern weapons, so that the Russians will be discouraged from thinking of attacking us."
"Our rearmament program needs to be speeded up in order to put some fear into the Russians."

Other answers:

1

"I am of the opinion, that our allies still need our military assistance."

No opinion/No answer:

1
14%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Considering the latest developments with middle- and long-range rockets and earth satellites, are you of the opinion that our rearmament program should be speeded up, slowed down, or carried on as before?"

IF "Should be slowed down":

"Why are you of this opinion?"

West Germany
(481)

The danger of a new war will thereby be lessened: 9%

"Our rearmament program should be slowed down because otherwise the danger of a new war will increase."

"I think so because the danger of war would not be so imminent then."

"In my opinion, the rearmament program should be slowed down because we don't want to have another war again so soon."

"I think so because we don't want another war to happen."

I'm fed up with the army, war, rearmament, etc.: 6

"I'm a pacifist."

"In my opinion, the army should be disbanded."

"The rearmament funds should be spent for the construction of housing space."

Modern weapons will be outdated very soon; wait for the latest in rockets and satellites: 3

"In view of the rapid technological progress, it would be unwise to purchase military equipment which will be outdated soon."

"The arms will be outdated soon."

"If the technological progress continues, conventional arms will no longer be of use to us."

Rearmament will have detrimental repercussions on our economy - it is expensive: 2

"If we have to spend so much money for military equipment, social welfare, housing construction, etc. would be neglected."

"If we speeded up our armament program, we'd have to concentrate upon the production of cannons instead of consumer goods. This would be to the disadvantage of the consumer and would hamper our economy."

"If we speeded it up, we would no longer be able to compete with other countries and our exports would decline."

We should take a neutral attitude, even towards the Russians: 1

"We should by all means stay neutral."

"I'm pretty sure that the Russians won't attack us."

We don't have a say in world politics anyhow: 1

"We are absolutely powerless anyhow."

"We are unimportant. We are only a small state."

No opinion/No answer: 1
25%

"Considering the latest developments with middle- and long-range rockets and earth satellites, are you of the opinion that our rearmament program should be speeded up, slowed down, or carried on as before?"

IF "Should be carried on as before":
"Why are you of this opinion?"

West Germany
(481)

The present rearmament program is good enough: 13%

"The present speed is sufficient."
"The way they carry on the rearmament program is just right."
"I prefer the present procedure - always the middle course."
"The pace of our rearmament program is just right to keep pace with the others."

The more we speed up our rearmament program, the sooner we shall have another war on our hands: 5

"A rapid development of our rearmament program may lead to another war."
"The more we intensify our rearmament efforts, the greater the danger of another war will become."
"We don't want another war to happen."

The present rearmament program is expensive enough: 3

"I don't think we would be able to set aside additional funds for rearmament. It's expensive enough as it is."
"We should not speed it up since it would cost too much."

We don't have a say in world politics anyhow: 3

"We don't have a say in political matters anyhow."
"Our rearmament program is of no importance."

Modern weapons will be outdated very soon; wait for the latest in rockets and satellites: 2

"If we don't accelerate our rearmament efforts, we may be able to purchase the latest equipment."
"We should wait until the final stage in rocket development has been reached."

Rearmament hinders the reunification of Germany: *

Other answers: 2

No opinion/No answer: 3
31%

* Less than one half of one per cent.
© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

OPINION ALSO DIVIDED OVER THE NECESSITY TO HAVE REGULAR ARMY EQUIPPED WITH CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS ...

A further question was posed to all respondents asking for their opinion as to the necessity of having a regular army equipped with conventional weapons. In general, the answers to this question were similar to those obtained to the preceding one.

One out of ten (12%) said that it was more necessary now that a regular army be equipped with conventional weapons. Three out of ten (31%) said that it was less necessary now, while an additional three-tenths (29%) said that they were as necessary now as ever. The remaining three-tenths (28%) had no opinion on the matter.

"If you consider the development of earth satellites, do you think that a regular army equipped with conventional weapons is as necessary as before, more necessary or less necessary now?"

West Germany
(481)

As necessary as before	29%
More necessary	12
Less necessary now	31
No opinion	28
	<u>100%</u>

Despite the apparent similarity of the responses to this question and the preceding one, it would be erroneous to assume that individuals who wanted the rearmament program speeded up were the ones who saw more necessity now for an army equipped with conventional weapons, and that those who wanted the program slowed down were the same ones who saw less necessity to equip an army with conventional weapons. To check on this very point the two questions were run against each other. The results are shown in the table below.

While it is true that a majority (51%) of those who wanted the rearmament program slowed down also said that it was not as necessary to have an army equipped with conventional weapons these days, the other groups were not as steadfast.

Among those who wanted the rearmament program speeded up, one-third (37%) said that it was more necessary today to have an army equipped with conventional weapons, while almost one-quarter (22%) said that it was less necessary.

Those who wanted the rearming carried on as at present tended to think that it was just as necessary as before (40%). Still there were sizeable groups who thought that it was less necessary (29%), or more necessary (12%).

"If you consider the development of earth satellites, do you think that a regular army equipped with conventional weapons is as necessary as before, more necessary or less necessary now?"

As necessary as before	More necessary	Less necessary now	No. of opinion	No. of cases
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"Considering the latest developments with middle- and long-range rockets and earth satellites, are you of the opinion that our rearmament program should be speeded up, slowed down, or carried on as before?"

Should be speeded up	36%	37%	22%	5%..10%	64
Should be slowed down	27	8	51	14	116
Should be carried on as before	40	12	29	19	146
No opinion	17	6	23	54	155

TWO OUT OF THREE OPPOSE ROCKET LAUNCHING SITES ...

Two-thirds of the West German population (66%) are opposed to the construction of launching sites in the Federal Republic even if built by the West German army together with its allies. Fewer than one out of five (18%) would favor such construction.

"Are you for or against having the Federal Army together with our allies build launching sites for rockets in the Federal Republic?"

West Germany
(481)

For	18%
Against	66
No opinion	16
	<u>100%</u>

OPPOSITION TO ROCKET LAUNCHING SITES SO STRONG THAT MAJORITIES OPPOSE THEM EVEN AMONG THOSE WHO SEE THE U.S. AS MILITARILY STRONGER, OR SEE MORE NECESSITY THAN EVER FOR CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS ...

The opposition to the construction of rocket launching sites within the Federal Republic is so widespread that it must be pointed out that majorities oppose such construction regardless of whether they feel the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. is now militarily stronger. However, it is true that the majority is a larger one if the opinion is held that the U.S.S.R. is the stronger power (77%), than if people are of the opinion that the U.S. is stronger (61%).

Cross-tabulating replies to the question of the rocket bases with opinion concerning the necessity of having conventional weapons, shows almost identical results. Among those who feel that the necessity is just as strong or more so than ever, six out of ten (60% and 62%) are still opposed to the bases. Among those who feel that conventional weapons are now less necessary, the proportion in opposition goes up to eight out of ten (79%).

"Are you for or against having the Federal Army together with our allies build launching sites for rockets in the Federal Republic?"

No. of
For Against No opinion cases

"All things considered, do you think the U.S. or Russia is ahead in total military strength at the present time?"

U.S. ahead of Russia	28%	61%	11%...100%	178
Russia ahead of U.S.	14	77	^	146
Both equal (volunteered)	10	78	12	58
No opinion	11	49	40	99

"If you consider the development of earth satellites, do you think that a regular army equipped with conventional weapons is as necessary as before, more necessary or less necessary now?"

As necessary as before	27%	60%	13%...100%	138
More necessary	35	62	3	60
Less necessary now	15	79	6	151
No opinion	4	58	38	132

MAJORITY OF THOSE WHO WOULD SPEED UP REARMAMENT FAVOR ROCKET BASES, WHILE ALMOST ALL OTHERS OPPOSE ROCKET SITES ...

Only among those who are in favor of speeding up West German armament as a consequence of the development of the various satellites can a majority be found in favor of the construction of rocket bases in the Federal Republic (52%).

In all other groups, even among those who had no opinion on the tempo that should be adopted for the rearmament program in general, an even larger majority can be found opposing the presence of rocket bases.

Among these "undecided" people, 58 per cent oppose the bases whereas among those who want to continue the current rearmament pace two-thirds (67%) are against having rocket sites constructed. As might be expected, among those who want the rearmament drive slowed, nine out of ten (88%) are in opposition to the construction of rocket sites.

"Considering the latest developments with middle- and long-range rockets and earth satellites, are you of the opinion that our rearmament program should be speeded up, slowed down, or carried on as before?"

Should be speeded up	Should be slowed down	Should be carried on as before	No opinion
(64)	(116)	(146)	(155)

"Are you for or against having the Federal Army together with our allies build launching sites for rockets in the Federal Republic?"

For	52%	5%	21%	12%
Against	39	88	67	58
No opinion	9	7	12	30
	100%	100%	100%	100%

REFUGEES (EXPELLEES) ONLY POPULATION GROUP FAVORING CONSTRUCTION OF ROCKET SITES ...

The interested reader is referred to page 40 in the Appendix where detailed break-downs of the answers to this question by the various sub-groups in the population are to be found.

On this particular question, of some immediate concern to NATO planners, opposition to the locating of rocket sites in the Federal Republic is so strong that of all the sub-groups for which data are available, only among the refugees and expellees can a majority be found (52%) actually favoring the building of rocket sites.

(While most of the farm people interviewed also were in favor of the bases, the fact that only 19 cases were collected makes any reliance upon this figure somewhat doubtful).

Part IV - Opinions Concerning a New Summit Conference

OVERWHELMING SUPPORT FOR HOLDING A NEW CONFERENCE ...

Almost nine out of ten persons queried (87%) were in favor of holding a new summit conference - with a clear majority (56%) "very much for it". Hardly anyone is opposed to such a world conference (4%).

"If you think of the present world situation, are you for or against holding a big international conference on world problems? (For it or very much for it?) (Against it or very much against it?)"

West Germany
(481)

Very much for it	56%
For it	31
Against it	3
Very much against it	1
No opinion	9
	100%

EXPECTATIONS THAT THE CONFERENCE WILL PRODUCE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS, HOWEVER, ONLY FAIR ...

Popular support for the holding of an international conference to settle the ills of the world are a lot higher than are expectations that the meeting they favor will produce tangible results.

Two out of ten (22%) thought the chances of achieving something substantial were "good" or "very good", while just as many (22%) said that the chances were "bad" or "very bad". The largest single group of responses assigned a "fair" chance that real progress would be made.

"In your opinion, how good are the chances that such a conference will produce real substantial progress toward solving world problems?" (CARD)

West Germany
(481)

Very good	3%
Good	19
Fair	34
Bad	17
Very bad	5
No opinion	22
	100%

THOSE WHO SEE GOOD CHANCE FOR A CONFERENCE SUCCEEDING SAY "NEGOTIATIONS SELDOM DO ANY HARM", OR "THERE IS GREATER WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE" ...

THOSE WHO SEE CHANCES AS BAD SAY "SUCH CONFERENCES ARE USELESS", OR "NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIANS ARE IMPOSSIBLE" ...

From the verbatim comments which follow one can see the type of reasoning engaged in by those who felt that there was either a good chance that a conference would produce tangible results, a fair chance, or even that the chances were bad.

"In your opinion, how good are the chances that such a conference will produce real substantial progress toward solving world problems?" (CARD)

IF "Very good" or "Good":
"Why do you think so?"

West Germany
(481)

Negotiations seldom do any harm:

9%

"It is always advisable to negotiate."
"The outcome of a conference will always be more fruitful than that of war, even a "cold" war."
"A conference is the way to come to an understanding with each other, even if such a conference does not produce immediate progress."
"They simply must come to an understanding. Things cannot go on that way any longer."

Willingness to negotiate has increased (general answers):

9

"Fear of nuclear weapons and rockets will bring statesmen to the conference tables."
"They know they must enter into negotiations to preserve peace."
"They will more easily agree to holding a conference in order to avoid another war that would destroy everything."
"After all, only by negotiating can a war be avoided."

Russia's willingness to negotiate has increased:

2

"I assume that the Russians have to take a more conciliatory attitude now."
"I am of the opinion, that Russia realizes by now that America is an opponent of equal strength."

America's willingness to negotiate has increased:

1

"I believe that the military-technological balance has been restored and this allows America to enter into negotiations with the Russians."
"Due to the latest developments in world affairs far better results can now be expected from a conference with Russia."

No opinion/No answer:

1
22%

"In your opinion, how good are the chances that such a conference will produce real substantial progress toward solving world problems?" (CARD)

IF "Fair":

"Why do you think so?"

West Germany
(481)

POSITIVE REMARKS

Negotiations seldom do any harm:

11%

"If they discuss their problems reasonably, such a conference will produce real progress toward solving world problems."

"It's always worth a try."

"They simply must find a solution to the present world problems."

"Despite everything it is always necessary to negotiate."

Willingness to negotiate has increased (general answers):

4

"Now, that both countries have their "Sputnik" it should be easier to come to an agreement."

"If you think of the horrible weapons that threaten to destroy mankind, you feel that they must try everything to solve world problems."

Russia's willingness to negotiate has increased:

4

"Now, that the technological balance has been restored, the Russians won't be riding so high any longer."

"I am pretty sure that even the Russians would welcome a period of peace."

America's willingness to negotiate has increased:

*

NEGATIVE REMARKS

Negotiations with Russia are impossible, one cannot trust them:

6

"Russia must change its attitude before we can enter into negotiations with it, that is my opinion."

"Russia always wants to play the leading role, so they are responsible if such a conference fails."

"Russia's intentions are never sincere."

Such conferences are useless:

7

"I don't think we should put any hope in such a conference. There is a lack of good will on both sides."

"Their points of view differ too much, and neither is really willing to enter into negotiations."

"Nothing will come out of it."

Russia is not willing to discuss the German problem and will not agree to German reunification:

*

No opinion/No answer:

2
36%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"In your opinion, how good are the chances that such a conference will produce real substantial progress toward solving world problems?" (CARD)

IF "Bad" or "Very bad":
"Why do you think so?"

West Germany
(481)

Such conferences are useless: 13%

"No results can be expected from such a conference."

"Look at all the conferences that were held so far, none of them has been a success."

"They keep negotiating but nothing comes out of it. They try to cover up their real intentions."

"I don't believe in all that talk. They waste their breath, that's all."

Negotiations with Russia are impossible, one cannot trust them: 8

"It is impossible to discuss any problem with the Russians; they keep insisting on their point of view."

"There is no sense in negotiating with the Russians. They have just one aim: to bolshevize the world."

"Russia does not want to cooperate. It pursues an unwavering policy."

"Russia wants to rule the world."

Russia is not willing to discuss the German problem, and will not agree to German reunification: 1

No opinion/No answer:

1
23%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

OVERWHELMING SUPPORT FOR HOLDING A CONFERENCE REGARDLESS OF EXPECTATIONS OF WHAT CAN BE ACHIEVED THERE ...

From the table below, the reader will note that there is overwhelming support for the holding of an international conference, even when the expectation is that nothing much is likely to emerge from such a meeting.

Even among those who said that they thought that the chances were "bad" or "very bad" that real progress would be made at a Summit Meeting, there is considerable support for holding the conference (83%). Outside of these "pessimists", support for the holding of the meeting becomes practically unanimous (96% among those with "fair" expectations, and 100% among those who think there are "good" or "very good" chances of achieving real progress at such a meeting).

"If you think of the present world situation, are you for or against holding a big international conference on world problems?"

	<u>For it</u>	<u>Against it</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
"In your opinion, how good are the chances that such a conference will produce real substantial progress toward solving world problems?" (CARD)				
Very good/Good	100%	-%	-%...100%	104
Fair	96	3	1	165
Bad/Very bad	83	12	5	106
No opinion	62	2	36	106

LAUNCHING OF U.S. SATELLITE CONSIDERED NO HINDICAP TO HOLDING AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ...

West German opinion is almost equally divided between viewing the successful launching of the American satellite as influencing the Russians to be more agreeable to the holding of such a meeting (36%) and believing that its presence in the skies will not influence the Russians one way or another (41%).

Fewer than one out of ten (7%) thought that the U.S.'s "Explorer" would cause the Russians to be less agreeable to the holding of a new Summit Meeting.

"Do you think that, as a result of the successful launching of the American earth satellite, the Russians will more readily or less readily agree to hold an international conference on world problems, or do you think the Russians will not be influenced by it?"

West Germany
(481)

The Russians will agree more readily	36%
The Russians will agree less readily	7
The Russians will not be influenced	41
No opinion	16
	100%

Eagerness to hold such a conference appears so strong that when answers to the above question are run against attitudes towards the holding of such an international conference, there is identical support for the holding of the meeting to be found regardless of their expectations as to what influence the "Explorer" might exert upon Russian willingness to meet.

"Do you think that, as a result of the successful launching of the American earth satellite, the Russians will more readily or less readily agree to hold an international conference on world problems, or do you think the Russians will not be influenced by it?"

<u>The Russians will</u>			
agree	agree	not	
more	less	be in-	No
readily	readily	fluenced	opinion
(173)	(32)	(196)	(80)

"If you think of the present world situation, are you for or against holding a big international conference on world problems?"

For it	95%	91%	93%	50%
against it	3	3	5	4
No opinion	2	6	2	46
	100%	100%	100%	100%

A P P E N D I X

"Do you know whether there is any country that has as yet succeeded in sending a satellite around the earth?"

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>All West Germans</u>	94%	6%...100%	481
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	96	4	231
Women	91	9	250
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	92	8	386
Beyond elementary	99	1	95
<u>Income:</u>			
Up to 149 DM	92	8	24
150 to 299 DM	91	9	67
300 to 399 DM	91	9	91
400 to 499 DM	97	3	97
500 DM and more	97	3	167
No answer	80	20	35
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>			
Upper middle and well-to-do	94	6	102
Lower middle	95	5	261
Poor	91	9	118
<u>Age:</u>			
Up to 24 years	93	7	73
25 to 34 years	96	4	103
35 to 44 years	97	3	89
45 to 54 years	93	7	100
55 years and over	90	10	116
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	95	5	110
CDU/CSU	96	4	175
FDP	83	17	30
Other parties	95	5	20
No party	93	7	74
No opinion/No answer	89	11	72
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	92	8	13
Businessmen	100	-	16
White-collar workers	94	6	72
Skilled laborers	96	4	79
Semi-skilled laborers	95	5	40
Domestic service	100	-	5
Farmers; farmhands	25	5	19
Housewives	91	9	175
Pensioners; retired	91	9	54
Students; apprentices	100	-	8
<u>Origin:</u>			
Natives	93	7	362
Expellees; refugees	96	4	119
<u>City Size:</u>			
Up to 1,999	91	9	120
2,000 to 24,999	96	4	167
25,000 to 99,999	97	3	38
100,000 and over	92	8	156

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<u>Land:</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
Schleswig/Holstein,			
Hamburg, Bremen	96%	4%...100%	46
Lower Saxony	93	7	53
North Rhine/Westphalia	99	1	147
Hesse	94	6	51
Rhineland/Palatinate	95	5	38
Baden/Wuerttemberg	88	12	66
Bavaria	86	14	80

"Do you know whether there is any country that has as yet succeeded in sending a satellite around the earth?"

IF "Yes":

"And - as far as you know - which country has sent the satellite around the earth?"

	USA	Russia	Both countries	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>All West Germans</u>	1%	7%	83%	3%	6%...100%	481
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	*	7	88	1	4	231
Women	2	8	77	4	9	250
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	1	8	80	3	8	386
Beyond elementary	1	4	92	2	1	95
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	-	13	66	13	8	24
150 to 299 DM	-	6	82	3	9	67
300 to 399 DM	1	9	78	3	9	91
400 to 499 DM	1	10	83	3	3	97
500 DM and more	1	5	90	1	3	167
No answer	3	6	71	-	20	35
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Upper middle and well-to-do	1	7	85	1	6	102
Lower middle	2	8	83	2	5	261
Poor	-	7	78	6	9	118
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 24 years	-	5	88	-	7	73
25 to 34 years	3	5	86	2	4	103
35 to 44 years	1	12	81	3	3	89
45 to 54 years	-	7	85	1	7	100
55 years and over	1	8	75	6	10	116
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	1	10	82	2	5	110
CDU/CSU	1	10	82	3	4	175
FDP	-	-	83	-	17	30
Other parties	-	10	85	-	5	20
No party	-	5	85	3	7	74
No opinion/No answer	3	1	79	6	11	72
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	-	8	76	8	8	13
Businessmen	-	6	94	-	-	16
White-collar workers	1	1	91	1	6	72
Skilled laborers	-	5	90	1	4	79
Semi-skilled laborers	-	7	88	-	5	40
Domestic service	-	40	60	-	-	5
Farmers; farmhands	-	16	79	-	5	19
Housewives	2	8	77	4	9	175
Pensioners; retired	-	11	74	6	9	54
Students; apprentices	-	-	100	-	-	8
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	1	9	81	2	7	362
Expellees; refugees	2	3	87	4	4	119
<u>City Size:</u>						
Up to 1,999	-	14	72	5	9	120
2,000 to 24,999	2	5	89	-	4	167
25,000 to 99,999	-	-	89	8	3	38
100,000 and over	1	6	83	2	8	156

* Less than one half of one per cent.

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	<u>USA</u>	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Both countries</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>Not asked</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
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Land:

Schleswig/Holstein,						
Hamburg, Bremen	-%	4%	90%	2%	4%...100%	46
Lower Saxony	-	6	83	4	7	53
North Rhine/Westphalia	2	10	84	3	1	147
Hesse	-	4	86	4	6	51
Rhineland/Palatinate	3	16	73	3	5	38
Baden/Wuerttemberg	-	3	82	3	12	66
Bavaria	1	8	77	-	14	60

"Do you believe that the latest scientific developments - such as the earth satellite - are primarily military in purpose or are they mainly scientific achievements benefitting mankind?"

	Scientific achieve- ments - be- Primarily nefitting military	Both to the same extent	No. of cases
	Primarily mankind	No opinion	
<u>All West Germans</u>	35%	37%	16% 12%...100% 481
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	34	42	16 8 231
Women	35	33	16 16 250
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	29	40	16 15 386
Beyond elementary	58	25	14 3 95
<u>Income:</u>			
Up to 149 DM	46	17	21 16 24
150 to 299 DM	27	42	13 18 67
300 to 399 DM	33	45	11 11 91
400 to 499 DM	32	29	25 14 97
500 DM and more	39	41	14 6 167
No answer	31	26	17 26 35
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>			
Upper middle and well-to-do	43	35	15 7 102
Lower middle	33	38	17 12 261
Poor	30	36	15 19 118
<u>Age:</u>			
Up to 24 years	36	42	11 11 73
25 to 34 years	34	44	18 4 103
35 to 44 years	34	29	26 11 89
45 to 54 years	31	36	16 17 100
55 years and over	37	35	10 18 116
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	39	44	10 7 110
CDU/CSU	32	38	19 11 175
FDP	56	37	7 - 30
Other parties	30	25	35 10 20
No party	43	38	18 1 74
No opinion/No answer	15	28	15 42 72
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	54	15	31 - 13
Businessmen	25	37	13 25 16
White-collar workers	39	32	21 8 72
Skilled laborers	33	43	13 6 79
Semi-skilled laborers	15	52	18 15 40
Domestic service	10	60	- - 5
Farmers; farmhands	32	42	21 5 19
Housewives	35	33	15 17 175
Pensioners; retired	40	30	13 17 54
Students; apprentices	37	50	13 - 8
<u>Origin:</u>			
Natives	35	37	16 12 362
Expellees; refugees	33	38	17 12 119

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	Primarily military	Scientific achieve- ments - be- nefiting mankind	Both to the same extent	22%...100%	No. of cases
			No. of cases	No. of cases	No. of cases
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	24%	32%	22%	22%...100%	120
2,000 to 24,999	36	42	14	8	167
25,000 to 99,999	37	40	10	13	38
100,000 and over	40	35	15	10	156
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein,					
Hamburg, Bremen	43	43	7	7	46
Lower Saxony	21	37	23	19	53
North Rhine/Westphalia	32	38	17	13	147
Hesse	21	44	14	21	51
Rhineland/Palatinate	35	26	26	13	38
Baden/Wuerttemberg	55	36	3	6	66
Bavaria	35	33	22	10	80

"All things considered, do you think the U.S. or Russia is ahead in scientific developments at the present time? Considerably ahead or only a little?"

	U.S. con- sider- ably ahead of Russia	Russia a little ahead of U.S.	Russia con- sider- ably ahead	Both equally (volun- teered)	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>All West Germans</u>	10%	19%	34%	14%	9%	14%...100%
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	12	22	33	16	9	8
Women	7	16	36	14	8	19
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	11	18	34	14	8	15
Beyond elementary	4	23	38	17	9	9
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	17	17	29	4	4	29
150 to 299 DM	13	18	34	12	13	10
300 to 399 DM	10	11	35	12	12	20
400 to 499 DM	12	22	33	17	3	13
500 DM and more	7	23	37	16	10	7
No answer	-	17	31	20	3	29
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Upper middle and well-to-do	4	16	36	22	11	11
Lower middle	9	22	34	15	7	13
Poor	14	15	33	8	10	20
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 24 years	1	11	48	21	5	14
25 to 34 years	8	29	34	12	11	6
35 to 44 years	11	12	32	20	9	16
45 to 54 years	10	16	32	19	9	14
55 years and over	15	22	30	5	8	20
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	9	17	36	25	5	8
CDU/CSU	15	24	31	9	11	10
FDP	-	17	53	13	10	7
Other parties	-	10	50	5	10	25
No party	9	16	37	22	7	9
No opinion/No answer	3	14	28	10	8	37
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	-	31	15	38	8	8
Businessmen	13	13	43	25	6	-
White-collar workers	3	25	32	18	12	10
Skilled laborers	19	19	30	13	8	11
Semi-skilled laborers	15	18	42	15	5	5
Domestic service	-	-	100	-	-	-
Farmers; farmhands	11	31	26	21	11	-
Housewives	7	15	37	15	6	20
Pensioners; retired	13	20	30	4	13	20
Students; apprentices	-	12	38	-	25	25

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U.S.		Russia		Russia		Both		No. of cases
con-	sider-	a	con-	sider-	equally	(volun-		
ably	ably	a little	ably	ably	(volun-	teered)	No opinion	
ahead	U.S.	a little	ahead	ably	(volun-	teered)	No opinion	
of	little	ahead	ahead	ably	(volun-	teered)	No opinion	
Russia	ahead	of U.S.	ahead	ahead	(volun-	teered)	No opinion	

Origin:

Natives	9%	19%	35%	13%	8%	16%...100%	362
Expellees; refugees	11	19	31	20	11	8	119

City Size:

Up to 1,999	14	14	33	12	5	22	120
2,000 to 24,999	10	25	35	10	10	10	167
25,000 to 99,999	-	24	34	21	-	21	38
100,000 and over	8	14	36	19	12	11	156

Land:

Schleswig/Holstein,							
Hamburg, Bremen	2	24	41	17	7	9	46
Lower Saxony	13	8	32	11	9	27	53
North Rhine/							
Westphalia	9	22	30	18	9	12	147
Hesse	8	22	34	2	14	20	51
Rhineland/Palatinate	13	10	37	8	3	29	38
Baden/Wuerttemberg	12	24	34	18	9	3	66
Bavaria	10	15	39	18	7	11	80

"All things considered, do you think the U.S. or Russia is ahead in total military strength at the present time? Considerably ahead or only a little?"

	U.S. con- sider- ably ahead of Russia	Russia a little ahead of U.S.	Russia con- sider- ably ahead	Both equally (volun- teered)	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>All West Germans</u>	11%	26%	19%	12%	12%	20%...100% 481
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	13	33	18	12	12	231
Women	10	19	19	11	29	250
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	12	30	12	11	24	386
Beyond elementary	7	6	45	15	10	95
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	12	21	17	17	25	24
150 to 299 DM	9	22	16	14	24	67
300 to 399 DM	8	25	17	7	21	91
400 to 499 DM	23	24	18	11	4	97
500 DM and more	10	30	20	13	12	167
No answer	-	23	23	11	34	35
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Upper middle and well-to-do	14	24	21	15	11	102
Lower middle	12	29	18	12	19	261
Poor	9	19	18	8	32	118
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 24 years	8	25	15	19	21	73
25 to 34 years	12	26	27	9	10	103
35 to 44 years	8	31	17	10	18	89
45 to 54 years	8	23	18	18	8	100
55 years and over	19	23	16	5	13	116
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	9	35	20	18	6	110
CDU/CSU	16	29	18	9	13	175
FDP	3	27	13	23	17	30
Other parties	5	15	20	10	30	20
No party	16	16	30	12	11	74
No opinion/ No answer	4	15	10	4	13	72
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	-	31	46	-	15	8
Businessmen	19	19	12	19	12	19
White-collar workers	14	31	14	15	15	72
Skilled laborers	10	34	15	12	15	79
Semi-skilled laborers	10	28	23	10	12	40
Domestic service	-	40	20	20	-	5
Farmers; farmhands	16	26	32	16	5	19
Housewives	10	18	22	12	8	30
Pensioners; retired	17	26	9	5	17	54
Students; appren- tices	-	38	12	25	25	8

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	U.S. con- sider- ably ahead of Russia	Russia a U.S. little little ahead Russia ahead	Russia con- sider- ably ahead of U.S.	Both equally (volun- teered)	No. of cases
	12%	26%	19%	10%	12% 21%...100%
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	12%	26%	19%	10%	362
Expellees; refugees	11	17	18	25	119
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	15	22	19	9	120
2,000 to 24,999	9	36	19	9	167
25,000 to 99,999	21	21	5	16	38
100,000 and over	9	17	21	15	156
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	7	24	28	15	46
Lower Saxony	4	25	17	13	53
North Rhine/ Westphalia	10	30	15	10	147
Hesse	8	25	20	2	51
Rhineland/ Palatinate	19	13	21	8	38
Baden/Wuerttem- berg	15	24	24	22	66
Bavaria	19	26	14	13	80

"If the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. settle down to competition without war for the next twenty or twenty-five years, which of the two, do you think, will end up as the stronger?"

	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>U.S.S.R.</u>	<u>Both equally strong (volun- teered)</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>All West Germans</u>	43%	25%	13%	19%...100%	481
<u>Sex</u>					
Men	44	28	16	12	231
Women	41	22	12	25	250
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	43	24	13	20	386
Beyond elementary	43	27	14	16	95
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	41	13	13	33	24
150 to 299 DM	37	25	16	22	67
300 to 399 DM	42	27	19	12	91
400 to 499 DM	47	25	10	18	97
500 DM and more	46	23	14	17	167
No answer	29	31	3	37	35
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	51	22	12	15	102
Lower middle	42	26	13	19	261
Poor	35	25	17	23	118
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 24 years	32	38	15	15	73
25 to 34 years	46	23	13	18	103
35 to 44 years	47	20	16	17	89
45 to 54 years	44	27	9	20	100
55 years and over	43	19	16	22	116
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	34	46	8	12	110
CDU/CSU	56	14	16	14	175
FDP	43	40	10	7	30
Other parties	60	10	15	15	20
No party	45	24	20	11	74
No opinion/No answer	18	15	10	57	72
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	8	38	38	16	13
Businessmen	50	25	13	12	16
White-collar workers	47	24	14	15	72
Skilled laborers	43	30	14	13	79
Semi-skilled laborers	43	37	2	18	40
Domestic service	40	60	-	-	5
Farmers; farmhands	58	16	21	5	19
Housewives	41	23	10	26	175
Pensioners; retired	43	13	20	24	54
Students; apprentices	50	12	38	-	8
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	40	26	14	20	362
Expellees; refugees	50	22	13	15	119
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	48	13	12	27	120
2,000 to 24,999	45	29	15	11	167
25,000 to 99,999	52	16	11	21	38
100,000 and over	34	31	14	21	156

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			Both equally strong (volun- teered)	No opinion	No. of cases
	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>U.S.S.R.</u>			

Land:

Schleswig/Holstein,					
Hamburg, Bremen	33%	24%	15%	28%...100%	46
Lower Saxony	34	17	15	34	53
North Rhine/Westphalia	45	22	18	15	147
Hesse	27	16	20	37	51
Rhineland/Palatinate	44	24	16	16	38
Baden/Wuerttemberg	45	43	3	9	66
Bavaria	57	26	8	9	80

"Considering the latest developments with middle- and long-range rockets and earth satellites, are you of the opinion that our rearmament program should be speeded up, slowed down, or carried on as before?"

	Should						No. of cases
	Should be speeded up	Should be slowed down	Should be carried on as before	Should be speeded up	Should be slowed down	No opinion	
<u>All West Germans</u>	12%	16%	30%	1%	9%	32%..100%	481
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	16	17	37	1	9	20	231
Women	9	14	24	1	8	44	250
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	12	16	28	*	9	35	386
Beyond elementary	16	14	41	2	6	21	95
<u>Income:</u>							
Up to 149 DM	17	8	25	-	8	42	24
150 to 299 DM	13	12	30	3	15	27	67
300 to 399 DM	19	11	24	1	8	37	91
400 to 499 DM	8	16	33	-	8	35	97
500 DM and more	10	21	34	1	8	26	167
No answer	14	14	29	-	-	43	35
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>							
Upper middle and well-to-do	11	22	37	-	3	27	102
Lower middle	13	13	31	1	9	33	261
Poor	12	17	23	2	12	34	118
<u>Age:</u>							
Up to 24 years	16	14	33	1	6	30	73
25 to 34 years	14	15	37	-	4	30	103
35 to 44 years	11	15	25	-	13	36	89
45 to 54 years	10	24	26	-	10	30	100
55 years and over	11	11	31	3	9	35	116
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	5	19	31	-	13	32	110
CDU/CSU	17	15	35	2	4	27	175
FDP	27	27	34	-	6	6	30
Other parties	15	15	30	-	15	25	20
No party	13	13	30	2	13	29	74
No opinion/No answer	4	8	18	-	7	63	72
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Professionals	15	23	47	-	-	15	13
Businessmen	6	19	37	-	19	19	16
White-collar workers	14	18	37	1	6	24	72
Skilled laborers	15	17	34	-	11	23	79
Semi-skilled laborers	10	20	37	-	3	30	40
Domestic service	60	20	20	-	-	-	5
Farmers; farmhands	32	21	21	-	5	21	19
Housewives	10	13	22	-	10	45	175
Pensioners; retired	7	9	37	6	9	32	54
Students; apprentices	12	25	25	-	13	25	8
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	10	16	29	1	10	34	362
Expellees; refugees	20	14	35	-	5	26	119

* Less than one half of one per cent.

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		Should									
		Should	Should	be	carried	Should		be changed -			
		be	be	slowed	on as	speeded		slowed	No		
		speeded	down	before		up	down	opinion			
		up	down			up	down		No.	of	
									cases		

City Size:

Up to 1,999	13%	16%	22%	2%	7%	40%..100%	120
2,000 to 24,999	12	19	37	-	7	25	167
25,000 to 99,999	19	5	37	-	26	13	38
100,000 and over	12	14	27	1	8	38	156

Land:

Schleswig/Holstein,							
Hamburg, Bremen	17	11	43	-	9	20	46
Lower Saxony	13	6	30	-	4	47	53
North Rhine/Westphalia							
	7	14	30	1	15	33	147
Hesse	18	6	21	-	-	55	51
Rhineland/Palatinate	13	10	21	3	13	40	38
Baden/Wuerttemberg	15	33	40	-	6	6	66
Bavaria	14	21	26	3	5	31	80

"If you consider the development of earth satellites, do you think that a regular army equipped with conventional weapons is as necessary as before, more necessary or less necessary now?"

	<u>As neces- sary as before</u>	<u>More neces- sary</u>	<u>Less neces- sary now</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>All West Germans</u>	29%	12%	31%	28%...100%	481
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	37	14	37	12	231
Women	21	11	26	42	250
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	25	14	31	30	386
Beyond elementary	42	7	35	16	95
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	46	4	8	42	24
150 to 299 DM	35	16	24	25	67
300 to 399 DM	16	21	32	31	91
400 to 499 DM	29	11	31	29	97
500 DM and more	30	10	41	19	167
No answer	31	3	17	49	35
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	37	6	39	18	102
Lower middle	26	16	28	30	261
Poor	28	10	30	32	118
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 24 years	30	18	30	22	73
25 to 34 years	24	13	31	32	103
35 to 44 years	31	9	35	25	89
45 to 54 years	28	12	34	26	100
55 years and over	30	12	28	30	116
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	23	15	40	22	110
CDU/CSU	32	14	31	23	175
FDP	24	24	50	2	30
Other parties	40	10	15	35	20
No party	38	11	32	19	74
No opinion/No answer	17	4	15	64	72
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	23	-	54	23	13
Businessmen	63	-	31	6	16
White-collar workers	36	4	39	21	72
Skilled laborers	25	24	38	13	79
Semi-skilled laborers	35	17	28	20	40
Domestic service	60	20	-	20	5
Farmers; farmhands	53	21	26	-	19
Housewives	16	12	26	46	175
Pensioners; retired	35	9	30	26	54
Students; apprentices	63	-	37	-	8
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	28	12	32	28	362
Expellees; refugees	31	15	30	24	119
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	21	12	26	41	120
2,000 to 24,999	33	14	33	20	167
25,000 to 99,999	29	10	45	16	38
100,000 and over	29	12	31	28	156

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	As neces- sary as before	More neces- sary	Less neces- sary now	No opinion	No. of cases
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Land:

Schleswig/Holstein,					
Hamburg, Bremen	43%	13%	20%	24%...100%	46
Lower Saxony	34	13	17	36	53
North Rhine/Westphalia	27	8	34	31	147
Hesse	20	12	25	43	51
Rhineland/Palatinate	32	7	29	32	38
Baden/Wuerttemberg	27	18	43	12	66
Bavaria	26	17	39	18	80

"Are you for or against having the Federal Army together with our allies build launching sites for rockets in the Federal Republic?"

	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>All West Germans</u>	18%	66%	16%...100%	481
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	23	68	9	231
Women	10	67	23	250
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	16	66	18	386
Beyond elementary	24	64	12	95
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	12	63	25	24
150 to 299 DM	21	55	24	67
300 to 399 DM	14	69	17	91
400 to 499 DM	18	69	13	97
500 DM and more	20	69	11	167
No answer	20	49	31	35
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper middle and well-to-do	19	65	16	102
Lower middle	21	65	14	261
Poor	12	66	22	118
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	16	63	21	73
25 to 34 years	25	64	11	103
35 to 44 years	18	70	12	89
45 to 54 years	15	69	16	100
55 years and over	15	6?	23	116
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	14	76	10	110
CDU/CSU	23	59	18	175
FDP	13	77	10	30
Other parties	30	60	10	20
No party	19	73	8	74
No opinion/No answer	11	54	35	72
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	31	54	15	13
Businessmen	12	75	13	16
White-collar workers	21	71	8	72
Skilled laborers	21	76	3	79
Semi-skilled laborers	20	62	18	40
Domestic service	-	40	60	5
Farmers; farmhands	53	37	10	19
Housewives	11	64	25	175
Pensioners, retired	18	67	15	54
Students; apprentices	12	50	38	8
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	7	75	18	362
Expellees; refugees	52	38	10	119
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	20	58	22	120
2,000 to 24,999	17	69	14	167
25,000 to 99,999	24	68	8	38
100,000 and over	16	67	17	156

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	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	22%	63%	15%...100%	46
Lower Saxony	9	70	21	53
North Rhine/Westphalia	21	63	16	147
Hesse	14	63	23	51
Rhineland/Palatinate	21	60	19	38
Baden/Wuerttemberg	12	79	9	66
Bavaria	24	61	15	80

"If you think of the present world situation, are you for or against holding a big international conference on world problems? (For it or very much for it?) (Against it or very much against it?)"

	Very much for it	For it	Against it	Very much against it	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>All West Germans</u>	56%	31%	3%	1%	9%...100%	481
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	58	34	3	1	4	231
Women	54	28	3	1	14	250
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	53	32	3	1	11	386
Beyond elementary	66	27	3	2	2	95
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	42	25	4	4	25	24
150 to 299 DM	50	36	4	1	9	67
300 to 399 DM	58	29	2	-	11	91
400 to 499 DM	59	28	5	1	7	97
500 DM and more	59	33	2	1	5	167
No answer	43	31	3	-	23	35
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Upper middle and well-to-do	61	31	4	2	2	102
Lower middle	56	31	3	-	10	261
Poor	52	29	3	2	14	118
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 24 years	55	32	1	1	11	73
25 to 34 years	63	28	6	-	3	103
35 to 44 years	59	31	2	-	8	89
45 to 54 years	56	28	2	2	12	100
55 years and over	48	35	3	1	13	116
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	65	25	2	1	7	110
CDU/CSU	59	32	3	-	6	175
FDP	67	27	3	-	3	30
Other parties	45	30	5	-	20	20
No party	58	30	7	4	1	74
No opinion/No answer	31	39	1	-	29	72
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	54	38	8	-	-	13
Businessmen	50	38	6	-	6	16
White-collar workers	53	41	3	-	3	72
Skilled laborers	59	32	4	1	4	79
Semi-skilled laborers	63	22	-	2	13	40
Domestic service	40	40	-	-	20	5
Farmers; farmhands	47	42	11	-	-	19
Housewives	55	27	3	-	15	175
Pensioners; retired	57	26	2	4	11	54
Students; apprentices	63	37	-	-	-	8
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	53	33	3	1	10	362
Expellees; refugees	63	26	3	2	6	119

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	Very much for it	For it	Against it	Very much against it	No opinion	No. of cases
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City Size:

Up to 1,999	47%	31%	4%	1%	17%...100%	120
2,000 to 24,999	55	37	3	1	4	167
25,000 to 99,999	60	34	3	-	3	38
100,000 and over	61	24	3	1	11	156

Land:

Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	59	31	4	2	4	46
Lower Saxony	51	34	-	-	15	53
North Rhine/Westphalia	50	33	5	2	10	147
Hesse	57	25	2	-	16	51
Rhineland/Palatinate	40	34	5	-	21	38
Baden/Wuerttemberg	76	18	3	-	3	66
Bavaria	59	39	-	-	2	80

"In your opinion, how good are the chances that such a conference will produce real substantial progress toward solving world problems?" (CARD)

	<u>Very good/ Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Bad/ Very bad</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>All West Germans</u>	22%	34%	22%	22%...100%	481
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	27	37	24	12	231
Women	17	32	20	31	250
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	19	35	22	24	386
Beyond elementary	32	32	23	13	95
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	17	12	25	46	24
150 to 299 DM	28	33	22	17	67
300 to 399 DM	26	35	17	22	91
400 to 499 DM	14	38	26	22	97
500 DM and more	23	36	25	16	167
No answer	11	32	11	46	35
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	20	42	25	13	102
Lower middle	20	33	23	24	261
Poor	27	31	17	25	118
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 24 years	26	34	14	26	73
25 to 34 years	22	44	17	17	103
35 to 44 years	14	31	31	24	89
45 to 54 years	24	31	26	19	100
55 years and over	23	31	21	25	116
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	30	29	20	21	110
CDU/CSU	23	42	18	17	175
FDP	17	53	27	3	30
Other parties	15	35	30	20	20
No party	19	32	35	14	74
No opinion/No answer	12	17	17	54	72
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	23	46	23	8	13
Businessmen	-	44	37	19	16
White-collar workers	26	38	17	19	72
Skilled laborers	28	43	23	6	79
Semi-skilled laborers	20	30	27	23	40
Domestic service	20	40	-	40	5
Farmers; farmhands	32	16	42	10	19
Housewives	16	30	21	33	175
Pensioners; retired	33	29	19	19	54
Students; apprentices	-	62	13	25	8
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	22	30	23	25	362
Expellees; refugees	21	45	20	14	119
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	22	22	22	34	120
2,000 to 24,999	20	43	22	15	167
25,000 to 99,999	26	45	18	11	38
100,000 and over	22	32	23	23	156

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	<u>Very good/ Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Bad/ Very bad</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein,					
Hamburg, Bremen	7%	41%	39%	13%...100%	46
Lower Saxony	19	36	11	34	53
North Rhine/Westphalia	17	34	25	24	147
Hesse	10	33	29	28	51
Rhineland/Palatinate	31	24	16	29	38
Baden/Wuerttemberg	33	43	18	6	66
Bavaria	34	29	15	22	80

"Do you think that, as a result of the successful launching of the American earth satellite, the Russians will more readily or less readily agree to hold an international conference on world problems, or do you think the Russians will not be influenced by it?"

	The Russians will				No. of cases
	agree more readily	agree less readily	not be influenced	No opinion	
<u>All West Germans</u>	36%	7%	41%	16%...100%	481
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	39	5	49	7	231
Women	33	8	34	25	250
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	34	7	40	19	386
Beyond elementary	42	6	45	7	95
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	25	8	29	38	24
150 to 299 DM	33	8	46	13	67
300 to 399 DM	41	7	48	14	91
400 to 499 DM	35	8	36	21	97
500 DM and more	40	6	44	10	167
No answer	17	3	46	34	35
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	39	4	45	12	102
Lower middle	39	6	38	17	261
Poor	26	11	42	21	118
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 24 years	22	5	55	18	73
25 to 34 years	43	7	39	11	103
35 to 44 years	37	1	44	18	89
45 to 54 years	38	8	39	15	100
55 years and over	36	10	33	21	116
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	42	5	44	9	110
CDU/CSU	36	7	40	17	175
FDP	34	13	53	-	30
Other parties	35	5	50	10	20
No parties	39	9	45	7	74
No opinion/No answer	26	1	26	47	72
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	39	-	46	15	13
Businessmen	38	19	31	12	16
White-collar workers	35	4	54	7	72
Skilled laborers	37	4	52	7	79
Semi-skilled laborers	28	12	45	15	40
Domestic service	20	-	40	40	5
Farmers; farmhands	58	11	31	-	19
Housewives	36	6	32	26	175
Pensioners; retired	39	9	32	20	54
Students; apprentices	12	-	75	13	8
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	35	6	41	18	362
Expellees; refugees	40	8	40	12	119

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The Russians will					No. of cases
agree more readily	agree less readily	not be influenced	No opinion		
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	33%	6%	32%	29%...100%	120
2,000 to 24,999	38	9	42	11	167
25,000 to 99,999	42	5	40	13	38
100,000 and over	35	5	46	14	156
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	39	-	50	11	46
Lower Saxony	25	6	43	26	53
North Rhine/Westphalia	36	8	35	21	147
Hesse	43	6	30	21	51
Rhineland/Palatinate	29	8	45	18	38
Baden/Wuerttemberg	36	3	55	6	66
Bavaria	41	11	38	10	80

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